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Ecological Distribution of Foreign Students in Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN
STUDENTS IN CHICAGO

BY

DANIEL S. OBIKEZE

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Problem

The presence of foreign students in large cities of the world is not a recent development. Even in the early days of the Greek civilization, Socrates saw that most of the followers of Protagoras seemed to be foreigners, "for these the sophist brings with him from various cities ... charming them with his voice, and they, charmed, followed where the voice leads" (1909:17). And in the Forward to the UNESCO publication, 'Students as Links Between Cultures' the authors noted that "students flocked to Alexandria; Bologna; and Bagdad ... and took away from these centers of learning, ideas which changed the course of modern history."

What is new about the presence of foreign students is their ever increasing number in world's cities. For instance, statistics published by the United States Bureau of Education show that in 1904 there were 3,673 college students from abroad. By 1911-12 this number increased to 4,856; to 8,357 in 1920-21 and to 29,813 in 1950-51. By the Fall of 1968, the number of foreign students in the United States was reported as 108,159.

Since the foreign student is in his host-country primarily to acquire education, the ideal situation is that he settles within or around the university of his enrollment. This is mostly the case where the university is able to provide student accommodation or where the university is situated in a relatively small rural town. Where, on the other hand the university is sited in a metropolis with modern transport facilities and wide variations in rental costs, a foreign student's choice of place of settlement is obviously affected by more than one

consideration. The problem of determining such a student's choice of place of residence is all the more complicated where, as in most cities of the United States, there are pre-established clusters or neighborhood concentrations of various ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic groups to which the in-coming student could readily identify.

Previous studies of the pattern settlement of immigrants to this country have shown that recent immigrants tend to settle in neighborhoods having population concentration of persons sharing the same ethnic background (cf. Munch 1949, Kosa 1957, Rosenthal 1960). The extent to which such social factors as ethnic considerations influence the distribution of foreign students in Chicago (or other big cities in the United States) is at present still a matter of speculation. Sociologists, psychologists and educational administrators have for sometime now concerned themselves with the adjustment pattern of foreign students and the effect of their experiences on both their educational pursuits and their attitude to the host-country (cf. Cieslak 1955, Carey 1956, and Eide 1970). There is no doubt that the type of neighborhood in which the students live will in some measure determine what experiences they have and ultimately both their adjustment pattern and their attitudes to this country. The problem to which this study is addressed, therefore, is that of exploring what relationships, if any, exist between ethnic concentrations and the distribution of foreign students in Chicago. To this end, a survey of the ecological distribution of foreign students is here undertaken.

Literature Review

Ralph Thomlinson has provided an excellent statement of what he refers to as 'sources of ecological thinking'. According to him, "systematic ecological reasoning, applicable to all forms of life --- plant, animal and human --- was first applied to the study of plants in the late nineteenth century; to animal life early in the twentieth century and to human beings beginning the 1920's." (19-69:6)

"Human ecology" as Duncan and Schnore have noted, "has had a curious history, arising as it did in the context of a series of specialized empirical studies of contemporary urban life" (1959:133). One of the special areas of research to which human ecology was widely applied was the pattern of distribution of various immigrant groups. In fact, the studies of immigrants became so important in the years following the work of Park and Burgess that Edward Shils (1948) called it one of the original justifications for the existence of American Sociology. Emil Lengyel's (1948) study of Hungarian immigrants; L. F. Pisani's (1957) study of Italian immigrants; C. B. Sherman's (1960) study of German immigrants; and Celia Heller's (1966) study of Mexicans are only a few of such studies. With particular reference to the city of Chicago, Paul Cressey's (1938) and Richard Ford's (1950) studies of 'Population succession in Chicago' are most relevant. The general findings of these studies may be summarized as follows:

- a) Immigrants tend to follow a regular sequence or pattern of settlement (Cressey 1938:61).

- b) Immigrant groups tend initially to settle in a low-rent area, usually located in the transitional zone near the center of the city.
- c) Unlike immigrants, the American population tends, on the other hand, to locate in areas having direct access to the Loop.

However, a common criticism usually made against these studies is that they have tended to adopt an individual as against a group point of reference, and as a consequence, they have failed to formulate empirically testable sociological theories.

For sometime now, there has been a consistent decline of interest among sociologists in the study of immigrant and ethnic groups. This is illustrated by the decline in the percentage of members of the American Sociological Association who listed 'race and ethnic relations' as their specialty from 8.2% before 1935 to 3.4% in 1959 (Veidemanis 1963:325).

The present study, however, is not intended to be a revival of interest on immigrant communities since the subject matter of the study, foreign student, is seen as a distinctive type of urban phenomena quite different from what may be termed regular immigrants. To provide a justification for this distinction, we will have to consider in some detail what similarities as well as differences exist between foreign students and normal immigrants as distinct urban phenomenon.

Caroline Ware has defined immigration as "the entrance of an alien country, of persons intending to take part in the life of that country and make it their more or less permanent residence" (1932:587). From this definition, it can be seen that foreign students, though immigrants in the sense that they are aliens entering a country that is not their own, they

differ fundamentally from regular immigrants in the following ways:

- a) Motive of entry: Unlike the normal immigrant, the foreign student is ideally a seeker of knowledge, new or improved skill which prepares him for positions of higher status and responsibility in his home-country. As Edward Cieslak has put it, "the spirit of adventure, the desire to see the world, the ambition for distinction and promotion ... entered into the motives of the average (foreign) student" (Cieslak 1955:4). On the other hand, the normal immigrant is essentially a seeker of security whether economic, political, or religious which he has failed to find in his own country. He is, thus, motivated by the desire for better life opportunities and has the intention of making the host-country his permanent abode.
- b) Social and class status: Foreign students tend to be drawn largely from the upper and middle classes of their home-country. In general, they represent the educated, ambitious, and upwardly mobile sections of their country. In the words of Thomas Marshall, 'those who go abroad to study in universities can never be representative sample of the population as a whole. They must be academically qualified for admission to the appropriate centers of learning and research (1970:3). Normal immigrants on the other hand tend to be recruited from all classes and from all walks of life but largely in favour of low class, low status persons with no skills and little education (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki 1958; Huebener 1962; Pisani 1957).

- c) Economic base: Most foreign students enjoy some form of financial support or bursary from family, government, business, church, or social organizations. This places them on a much sounder economic base than the regular immigrants to whom such opportunities are usually closed.

These differences make a formal study of foreign students as a social phenomenon quite different from normal immigrants a desirable endeavour.

The Foreign Student: a Marginal man; a Stranger; or a Sojourner

Three related sociological concepts so far employed to characterize social types that result from race and culture contacts will now be examined. These are the concepts of the marginal man, the stranger, and the sojourner as introduced by Robert Park (1928); George Simmel (1950) and Siu (1952) respectively.

The concept of marginal man as developed by Park and modified by Stonequist (1939) has been defined as "a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples ... which never completely interpenetrated or fused" (Siu 1960:383).

George Simmel formulated the concept of the stranger as a sociological model to characterize foreign elements in the community who though they are physically located in the group do not belong to it --- a case participation without involvement. Simmel describes the stranger as "the potential wanderer, though he has not moved on, has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going ... The unity of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation is organized in the phenomenon of the stranger."

(1950:402). As Siu has put it, "psychologically he is unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident of the country of his sojourn" (1952:32). Thus, while the marginal man is a hybrid of two cultures, the stranger represents what may be called a 'culture island' within the community.

The concept of sojourner was introduced by Paul Siu. He conceived the sojourner as a deviant form of the stranger and describes him as "a stranger who spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it" (1952:34). Thus, the sojourner is very similar to Simmel's stranger. For one thing, both have not overcome the freedom of coming and going. To this extent, the two concepts may be considered as synonymous.

II. THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The subject of this study is the foreign student. At first sight, it appears definite and precise enough but a little closer look reveals greater complications than are apparent. If by a foreign student is meant an alien pursuing some course of studies, we find that to some of such persons, studies have become a secondary preoccupation if not relegated to a mere hobby. Some have full-time permanent employment and others run businesses of their own and attend classes only at night. Some have lived for so long in their host country that they have virtually become immigrants. For an empirical study of this nature, therefore, it becomes necessary to provide a more precise, operational definition of the principal terms employed.

The following resolution passed at a study workshop on the admission of foreign graduate students in 1964 provides a lead to an adequate definition of the term foreign student:

That it is the view of the workshop that no U.S. graduate school should admit a student who had obtained his visa on an I-20 issued by another school unless the applicant had completed one year at that institution ... (1964:20).

A foreign student, for the purpose of this study, may thus be defined as an alien who holds a current I-20 (student) visa and is formally enrolled in a course of study in an educational institution. This definition disqualifies foreign nationals born in the United States, diplomats and

foreign government representatives, foreign missionaries, as well as foreign nationals who, though they entered the country originally as students, have now been granted immigrant status from consideration as foreign students in this study.

As an individual, the foreign student has no relevance to this study except in so far as he is a constituent member of that section of the Chicago population labelled foreign students. In other words, we are not concerned with the personal or psychological characteristics of a foreign student, but only with group characteristics or behavior and this constitutes the social phenomenon under investigation.

Five variables will be utilized in this study. The variables, race, residence, location of the university, type of visa, and school of registration are all nominal in form. It will, however, be necessary to make further specifying statements about each of them:

1) Race or ethnicity

Peoples have been classed and differentiated on basis of skin color, language, religion, political ideology, and geographic regions. Our use of the term 'racial or ethnic' group here is not based strictly on any one of these criteria but a combination of some of them. The term "does not, therefore, reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock" (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:XIX) and may in some instances refer to national origin. Based on this consideration, the following racial groups will be employed in this study:

- (a) West Europeans: Countries included in this racial group are Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany (West), Great Britain, Greece,

Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Thus East European students are excluded from this group.

- (b) Africans: Only Negro Africans are included in this group. Arab Africans and non-negroid settlers in the southern parts of the continent are, therefore, excluded from the group.
- (c) Chinese: Included in this group are the nationals of Republic of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.
- (d) Indians: Students from the Republic of India.

One advantage of this classification is that it corresponds closely, in certain respects, to that employed by the United States Census Bureau. Thus based on the Federal Bureau of Census publications, Ralph Thomlinson has noted that "in the United States, the five most numerous minority racial or religious groups (are) Negroes, Jews, Indians, Japanese, and Chinese" (1969:13).

The United States population is also often classified purely on basis of skin color -- white and non-white -- with the later subdivided into Negroes (Blacks) and Other Races (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:XIX). In the present study, Europeans as above described will be taken to correspond to Whites, Africans to Blacks and Indians and Chinese will come under other specified races.

2) Residence: The Concept of Community Areas

In studies of area distribution of social phenomena, various concepts are utilized to delineate the location of the phenomena within the city. Most common among such concepts are the neighborhood, the community, the

census tract, the natural area, the zone and the region. In this study, the concept of community areas will be employed as the spatial unit.

The community area as a unit of measurement was developed in response to the need for a uniform, satisfactory, and comparable spatial units for studying urban phenomena. However, any description of the community areas must have to start with the census tracts. Census tracts are more or less "permanent geographical subdivisions of the city adopted by the Bureau of the Census for statistical reporting" (Chicago Community Inventory 1961:V). Community Areas are derived directly from the census tracts. In fact, they are combinations of census tracts. But they are not mere agglomerations of contiguous census tracts for "most of them are also historical entities having in the main, histories of their own as communities, commonly recognized names and an awareness on the part of their inhabitants of some common interest" (Chicago Community Inventory 1961:V). Thus, the community area as a statistical unit combines both the permanency and comparability of the census tract with homogeneity, naturalness and shared interest of the ideal community. Thus, the 867 census tracts into which the City of Chicago was divided for the 1960 census, have been grouped into 76 Community Areas.

Residence as a variable in the present context refers to the community area in which the foreign student is domiciled.

3) University location

As a variable, this refers to (1) the section of the city -- whether east, west, south, north of the 'loop', (2) the community area in which the university is situated.

4) Type of visa

There are three types of visa commonly found among foreign students. These are visiting or exchange (J) visa; immigrant (Z) visa and student (I-20) visa. From our operational definition, only persons with exchange or student visa qualify for inclusion in this study.

5) School

By this is meant whether the student is registered in a graduate or undergraduate school.

The grouping of these variables into the Independent and the Dependent variables will depend largely on the nature of hypotheses to be tested.

The Hypotheses

The study will test two main hypotheses, namely:

1. That in general, university community areas -- (that is, community areas in which universities are situated) -- contain larger proportions of foreign students than non-university community areas.
2. That foreign students tend to locate in community areas with large proportion of persons of the same ethnic group. In other words, that ethnic considerations determine where a foreign student lives.

The independent variables:

As can be seen from the above hypotheses, the study utilizes two independent variables namely, the university location and the racial composition of the community areas.

The dependent variables:

The study utilizes only a one double-barreled dependent variable namely, the proportion of students from a given racial group resident in a community area -- that is, the concentration of foreign students in the community areas.

The intervening variables:

The intervening variables expected to be operative in this study are the student's financial resources, availability of university housing, his major, his ability to speak English, the length of his stay in the country, his marital status and friendship ties.

Scope of the study:

This study is limited to the area within the city of Chicago. Some implications of this are:

- a) Only universities strictly within the city of Chicago will be included in the study. Thus, Northwestern University with 27.2% of its foreign students residing in Chicago -- Northwestern University has a foreign student enrollment of 683 -- is excluded from the study.
- b) Only foreign students who reside within the city of Chicago, irrespective of the location of their universities, will be included in the study. Thus, some 258 foreign students representing 10.8% of the total foreign student enrollment in the five universities, who reside outside the city are excluded from the study. Excluded from the study also are 46 other students whose residential addresses are not

available from student personnel records of their universities or who specifically request that such information be kept confidential. The distribution, by university, of these exclusions is given in Table I.

Table I.

DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS EXCLUDED IN THE STUDY BY UNIVERSITY

University	I.I.T.		Loyola U.		U. of Ch.		U. of Il.		Roosevt.		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Residing outside the city	124	15	31	20.9	9	1.7	54	12.1	40	8.9	258	10.7
No residential address	7	.8	4	2.6	11	2.1	4	.9	20	4.5	46	1.9
											304	12.6

In addition to the above, there are some 370 registrants who either hold or have applied for resident or immigrant (Z) visas. The definition of foreign studentship adopted in this study automatically disqualifies these persons from inclusion in the study.

Period covered:

With only one exception, the data for this study pertain to foreign student enrollment in the chosen universities by the Fall of 1971. The only exception is Roosevelt University whose enrollment list is as at Spring (January) 1972.

Population and Sampling Method

By 1960 there were 54 institutions of higher learning "offering at least a two-year program of college-level studies in residence ..." scattered all over the city of Chicago (Kitagawa and Taeuber 1963:316). These institutions are of various types and sizes and may be classified as commercial, technical, professional, purely academic or a combination of these. Out of these, five institutions have been chosen for this study. No systematic sampling method was applied in the selection and the choice of the five institutions was based on two main considerations:

- 1) The location of the university. The intention here is to give as much representation as possible to various areas of the city. Hence, Loyola University located in the far North; University of Illinois located in the near Southwest; Roosevelt University at the Loop; Illinois Institute of Technology in the near Southeast and the University of Chicago in the Southeast sections of the city have been chosen.
- 2) The likelihood of the institution containing a comparatively large number of foreign students. It is reasoned that institutions with wide variety of programs offered at graduate and undergraduate levels are more likely to attract foreign students than junior institutions. Consequently, our choice of institutions are limited to universities.

All foreign students enrolled in the five chosen universities who are not disqualified on the grounds specified above are included in the data. These constitute the universe of the study.

III. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The community areas are grouped into two categories: university and non-university community areas. University community areas are those in which any one of the chosen universities is located. There are five such community areas. All the other seventy-one community areas constitute the non-university community areas.

This analytical distinction is considered necessary because as Kitagawa and Taeuber have said "the location of institutions in a particular community may have considerable influence on the population and housing characteristics of the community" (1963:316). The effect on the population of Evanston, Illinois, of the presence of a large number of students, faculty members and their families who are enrolled and/or employed at the Evanston campus of Northwestern University illustrates this point. Based on this consideration, it is hypothesized that the university community areas will contain a larger proportion of foreign students than non-university community areas.

The General Pattern

Table II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS BY COMMUNITY AREAS OF CHICAGO: SPRING 1972

<u>% of All Students</u>	<u>University Comm. Areas</u>	<u>Non-University Comm. Areas</u>	<u>Total</u>
20-25%	1	0	1
15-19.9%	1	0	0
10-14.9%	0	0	0
5-9.9%	0	1	1
1-4.9%	3	11	14
.5-.99%	0	4	4
.1-.49%	0	37	37
.09% and below	0	17	17

Table II presents the percentage distribution (grouped) of foreign students among the 76 community areas of Chicago. Map II conveys the same information in a graphic form.

From both the table and the map, it can be seen that the distribution of foreign students is not a haphazard occurrence but that it follows a definite pattern. Foreign student population is heavily concentrated in community areas adjacent to the lake front. Of the sixteen community areas immediately adjoining the lake, only the southern most two, Eastside community area (#52) and Hegewisch community area (#55) have no foreign student residents. The remaining fourteen, which together constitute just 18.4% of all the community areas, account for as much as 81.1% of all foreign students as against only 23.9% of the entire city population. This means that unlike the general population which appears fairly evenly spread throughout the city, the foreign student population is bunched together in a narrow strip of territory along the lake front.

An explanation of this situation will be attempted by examining three ecological factors that have often been employed to account for population distribution within the city - namely, rental costs, type of housing, transportation facilities. As Berry and Horton have put it, "the price of the dwelling unit (either rent or purchase price); the type of residence, and its location both in terms of neighborhood environment and in relation to place of work" are the principal factors that determine where inhabitants of a city decide to live (1970:311).

Earlier studies in patterns of immigrant settlement have shown that they tended to locate initially in low-rental areas of the city (of Burgess

1957; Kosa 1956; and Cressey, 1938). In the context of this study, if low-rental cost is a factor affecting where foreign students decide to live, one would expect that the lake-front area of Chicago would be a low-rental region. On the contrary, it is known that apart from the loop area, the highest rental areas are found along the lake-front. One would then be justified to conclude that low-rent cannot be an adequate explanation for the concentration of foreign students in community areas along the lake-front.

With respect to the second factor, type of housing, it is to be noted that generally the first block or two immediately adjoining the lake usually contain the expensive, multi-storey buildings inhabited by the millionaires. It is these that have earned the area, the name "gold-coast." However, the subsequent two or three blocks usually contain the high-rise apartment buildings and hotels. These multi-storey buildings provide lots of single room 'efficiency apartments' which could be rented for relatively short periods and with little formality. These apartments very aptly meet the needs of such mobile elements of the society as foreign students. Thus, the availability of the appropriate type of accommodation required by foreign students appears to account in some for the concentration of foreign students in this area. However, how much explanatory weight is to be assigned to this factor remains to be established by research.

The third factor, perhaps offers even a more fitting explanation for the location of foreign students in this belt. With rest to to transportation systems it is to be noted that the North-South line of the Chicago Rapid Transit system traverses the same stretch of community areas. This

tends to suggest that availability of efficient public transportation facilities to and from school is a strong factor determining choice of place of residence by foreign students.

For one thing, it is possible that a student moving few blocks further west from the lake-front will find some suitable accommodation at lower rental costs. But the additional transportation costs to be incurred in travelling to the Rapid Transit system might, in the long run make it cheaper and more convenient for him to opt for a relatively more costly apartment close to the transportation route.

It is pertinent here to mention that four out of the five universities included in this study are located along the North-South Rapid Transit system.

With the above in view, the first hypothesis of this study, namely, that university community areas contain higher proportion of foreign students than non-university community areas, will now be tested.

Table III

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH 40 OR MORE FOREIGN STUDENTS
BY PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN STUDENT RESIDENTS

<u>Rank</u>	<u>% of All Students</u>	<u>Community Area #s</u>	
		<u>University C.A.S.</u>	<u>Non-University C.A.S.</u>
1	23.1	41	--
2	18.4	35	--
3	15.1	--	3
4	6.1	--	6
5	4.8	1	--
6.5	2.9	--	7
6.5	2.9	--	34
8	2.8	28	--
9	2.3	--	8
10	2.1	--	43
11	2.0	32	--

In Table III, eleven community areas with forty or more foreign students are ranked on basis of the percentage of all foreign students found in them. The table shows that the two highest ranking community areas are university community areas. These are the sites of the University of Chicago and Illinois Institute of Technology and these account for 23.1% and 18.4% - altogether 41.5% - of all the foreign students. The remaining three university community areas have ranks 5, 8, and 11. Thus, from Table III, it cannot be said that university community areas generally and always contain higher proportion of foreign students than non-university community areas. On the other hand, the fact that the five university areas together account for over 51% of all foreign students suggests that as a group, the university community areas contain a disproportionately larger number of foreign students than non-university community areas.

An important factor to be reckoned with in this context is the existence of the International House attached to the University of Chicago and located in one of the university community areas (#11). This institution which is capable of providing suitable, convenient and relatively cheap accommodation and other facilities for foreign students from all over the city, accounts in some measure for the concentration of large numbers of foreign students in this community area.

On the whole, all that can be said is that while the location of the university is a factor to be reckoned with, it is by no means an over-riding one in determining where a foreign student choses to live.

The second hypothesis states that foreign students would tend to aggregate in community areas having a large population of immigrants of the

same racial group. This would mean that ethnic considerations play a major role in determining where foreign students decide to locate.

To test this hypothesis, an attempt is made to establish a correspondence, through rank-order correlation analysis, between the proportion of a community area's population that are foreign borns of a given racial group and that proportion of that community area's foreign student population that are of the same racial group. The rationale behind this is that if ethnic considerations are a significant factor in the location of foreign students, then students of a given racial group would tend to aggregate in those community areas where there are already in existence clusters of immigrants of the same racial group.

Chinese Students

Table IV

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH FOUR OR MORE CHINESE
STUDENTS BY PERCENTAGE CHINESE STUDENTS AND
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF CHINESE BIRTH

C.A.	<u>% of Foreign Students Who Are Chinese</u>	<u>% of C.A. Population Who Are of Chinese Birth</u>	<u>Chinese Student Rank</u>	<u>Chinese Birth Rank</u>
34	38.7	12.6	1	1
35	23.2	0.1	2	7
7	21.3	0.1	3	7
42	21.2	0.01	4	10
41	21.1	0.7	5	2
8	18.7	0.05	6	9
28	13.3	0.1	7	7
3	11.7	0.5	8	3
1	7.9	0.3	9	4.5
6	3.0	0.3	10	4.5

$$r = -.03$$

Table IV shows a ranking of all community areas with a Chinese student population of four or more on basis of the percentage of Chinese students and the percentage of persons of Chinese birth - that is, first generation Chinese immigrants - resident therein. The coefficient of correlation between the two rank orders is $-.03$. While taking note of the negative sign of the coefficient, one cannot, on the basis of this result infer any meaningful relationship between the percentage of Chinese students and percentage of persons of Chinese birth found in the community areas. This would be interpreted to mean that ethnic considerations seem not to be an important factor affecting the location of Chinese students in Chicago.

European Students

Table V

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH FOUR OR MORE EUROPEAN STUDENTS BY PERCENTAGE EUROPEAN STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE WHITES

C.A.	<u>% of Foreign Students Who Are Europeans</u>	<u>% of C.A. Population Which Are White</u>	<u>Rank (Students)</u>	<u>Rank (Whites)</u>
4	35.7	97.9	1	1
42	33.3	3.6	2	10
41	18.2	64.1	3	7
32	12.2	86.6	4	6
8	10.4	61.3	5	8
1	7.9	95.5	6	2
7	6.5	88.1	7	5
6	5.2	93.9	8	3
35	3.9	10.5	9	9
3	2.9	90.5	10	4

$$r = -.05$$

In respect of European students, the correlation is with the percentage of white population in a given community area. This is preferred to the percentage of persons of European birth because recent immigrants to this country from Europe are rather easily assimilated into the general white

population. Table V presents the ranking of community areas on basis of percentage European students and percentage white population in the various areas. The correlation coefficient is $r = -.05$. Here, like in the case of Chinese students no meaningful relationship can be inferred.

Next, percentage Indian students in a community area is correlated with percentage of persons of Asian birth found in the same area. In this context, persons of Asian birth comprises persons born in the continent of Asia with the exceptions of Japanese and Chinese. With these two exceptions, Indians constitute by far the largest single nationality group from Asia represented in our data. For instance, there are only 52 Pakistanis - the next largest single group of Asian students - as against 421 Indian students. Indians are, therefore, taken as representatives Asians as defined above.

Indian Students

Table VI

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH FOUR OR MORE INDIAN STUDENTS BY PERCENTAGE INDIAN STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF ASIAN BIRTH

C.A.	<u>% of Foreign Students Who Are Indians</u>	<u>% of C.A. Population Who Are of Asian Birth</u>	<u>Rank (Indian Students)</u>	<u>Rank (Asian Birth)</u>
14	38.5	1.0	1	8.5
28	38.3	1.0	2	8.5
34	37.1	1.9	3	4
3	25.7	2.3	4	3
35	21.1	1.2	5	7
6	20.9	2.5	6	1
7	13.1	2.4	7	2
41	10.3	1.6	8	5
1	8.9	1.4	9	6

$$r = -.43$$

The correlation coefficient between the rank ordering of percentage Indian students and percentage of persons of Asian birth found in given

community areas (vide Table VI) is $r = -.43$. Although there is a substantial increase in the magnitude of this coefficient, over the previous results, yet it does not provide one with a valid basis for inferring meaningful relationships. It is not significant at .1 level. However, it tends to show that concentrations of Indian students are found in those community areas few number of persons of Asian birth. Ethnic considerations, as defined in this study, does not seem to be a relevant factor in the location of Indian students.

African Students

For African students, two separate correlations will be made; first with persons of African birth and then with the Negro population of the relevant community areas. It is considered necessary to treat persons of African birth and American blacks (Negroes) as separate groups because even though both are of the same race, they are culturally separated. It is, therefore, possible that a foreign student would prefer to identify with one group and not the other. Besides, there is no correspondence between the proportion of Negro population in a community area and that of persons of African birth found in the same area.

Table VII

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH FOUR OR MORE AFRICAN STUDENTS
BY PERCENTAGE AFRICAN STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF AFRICAN BIRTH

C.A.	<u>% of Foreign Students Who Are Africans</u>	<u>% of C.A. Population Who Are of African Birth</u>	<u>Rank (Students)</u>	<u>Rank (Afro. Births)</u>
44	100	.01	1.5	8
46	100	.02	1.5	7
43	46.6	.1	3	4
24	20.0	0	4	9.5
39	17.9	.03	5	6
42	12.1	.16	6	3
28	6.6	0	7	9.5
41	5.2	.3	8	1.5
35	3.9	.05	9	5
3	3.2	.3	10	1.5

$$r = -.52$$

The ranking of community areas by percentage African students and percentage persons of African birth is shown in Table VII. The correlation coefficient is $r = -.52$. This proves to be significant at .05 level (one tail test).

In table VIII percentage African students is correlated with percentage Negro population.

Table VIII

RANKING OF COMMUNITY AREAS WITH FOUR OR MORE AFRICAN STUDENTS BY
PERCENTAGE AFRICAN STUDENTS AND PERCENTAGE NEGRO POPULATION

C.A.	<u>% of Foreign Students Who Are Africans</u>	<u>% of C.A. Population That is Negro</u>	<u>Rank (Students)</u>	<u>Rank (Negroes)</u>
44	100	97.5	1.5	1
46	100	22.4	1.5	8
43	46.6	69	3	6
24	20.0	4.4	4	9
39	17.9	78.8	5	4
42	12.1	96.8	6	2
28	6.6	72.2	7	5
41	5.2	31.1	8	7
35	3.9	87.6	9	3
3	3.2	2.5	10	10

$$r = .2$$

The coefficient of correlation here is $r = .2$. From Table VII we can infer that there is a tendency for African students to aggregate in community areas with very few persons of African birth. The relationship between such concentrations and those of Negro population is of no significance. Again, ethnic considerations as defined in this paper could not be said to be an important factor determining the location of African students.

The general conclusion to be drawn from these analyses is that in Chicago, the location of foreign students seem to be determined by other factors than ethnic considerations.

IV. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Summary Conclusions

This is essentially an exploratory study. In it, attempt has been made to show that foreign studentship is an urban social phenomenon worthy of scientific research. Foreign students are conceptualized as immigrants of a different type; similarities as well as differences between them are also pointed out. Two hypotheses regarding factors that determine the location and territorial distribution of foreign students in Chicago are put forward and tested. The findings are summarized as follows:

1. That the distribution of foreign students in Chicago is not random; rather it falls into a definite identifiable pattern.
2. That foreign student population is not in any way evenly distributed throughout the city; rather it tends to aggregate in a narrow strip of territory along the lake-front.
3. There is not one over-riding factor but multiple contributory factors which determine where a foreign student decides to live.
4. None of the two factors empirically tested - i.e., university location and ethnic consideration - appear to be a major contributor in the decision process.
5. Subject to actual verification, the data seem to lead to the following inference about some of the factors that have not been formally tested in this study:
 - (a) Low-rental costs seem not to be a factor to be reckoned with.
 - (b) Availability of suitable type of housing appears to be an important factor.

- (c) Proximity to a line of efficient and reliable public transportation system appears to be the most crucial factor in determining where a foreign student chooses to live.

Implications: For Society

The second listed finding in the above summary has some social implications worthy of further consideration. The fact that over 80% of foreign students live in an area containing only about 24% of the city population means that the foreign student is out of touch with a large majority of the city population. The foreign student, therefore, lacks exposure to a wide range of the life-styles of the people of Chicago. One consequence of this is that it reduces the chances of his association or integration into the host-society. He, therefore, continues to be a 'stranger' for a much longer period than would have been otherwise the case.

Further, partly because of the pattern of housing in those community areas adjoining the lake, the social or population composition of this area does not reflect the entire society. For one thing, the average middle class families tend to locate away from this area - and these are the carriers of American culture. This means that for the period of his stay in Chicago, the foreign student gets to see very little of the life in a typical American family. He may be invited out for dinner to such homes from time to time - particularly on festive occasions such as the Thanksgiving - but the informal patterns of everyday family life eludes his observation. All these will no doubt affect his understanding of and general attitude to his host country both while here as a student and

when eventually he returns to his home country.

For Future Research

Like most exploratory studies, this study serves to point to the direction for future research. In the first place, further research is needed to verify or confirm the tentative conclusions made on the effects of low-rental; type of housing and transportation facilities as factors determining a student's choice of place of residence.

Secondly, there is the need to assess the relative weight of each of the factors so far identified as well as others such as friendship ties.

Finally, a different type of study designed in such a way as to involve direct contact with foreign students through formal interviews or through questionnaires, will be needed not only to verify conclusions based on this ecological survey but also to go into the area of their attitudes and opinions - an area completely left out in the present study.

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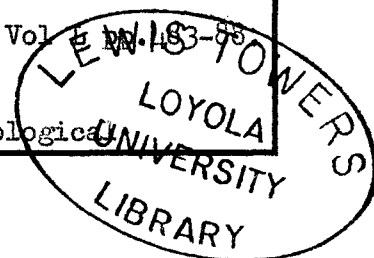
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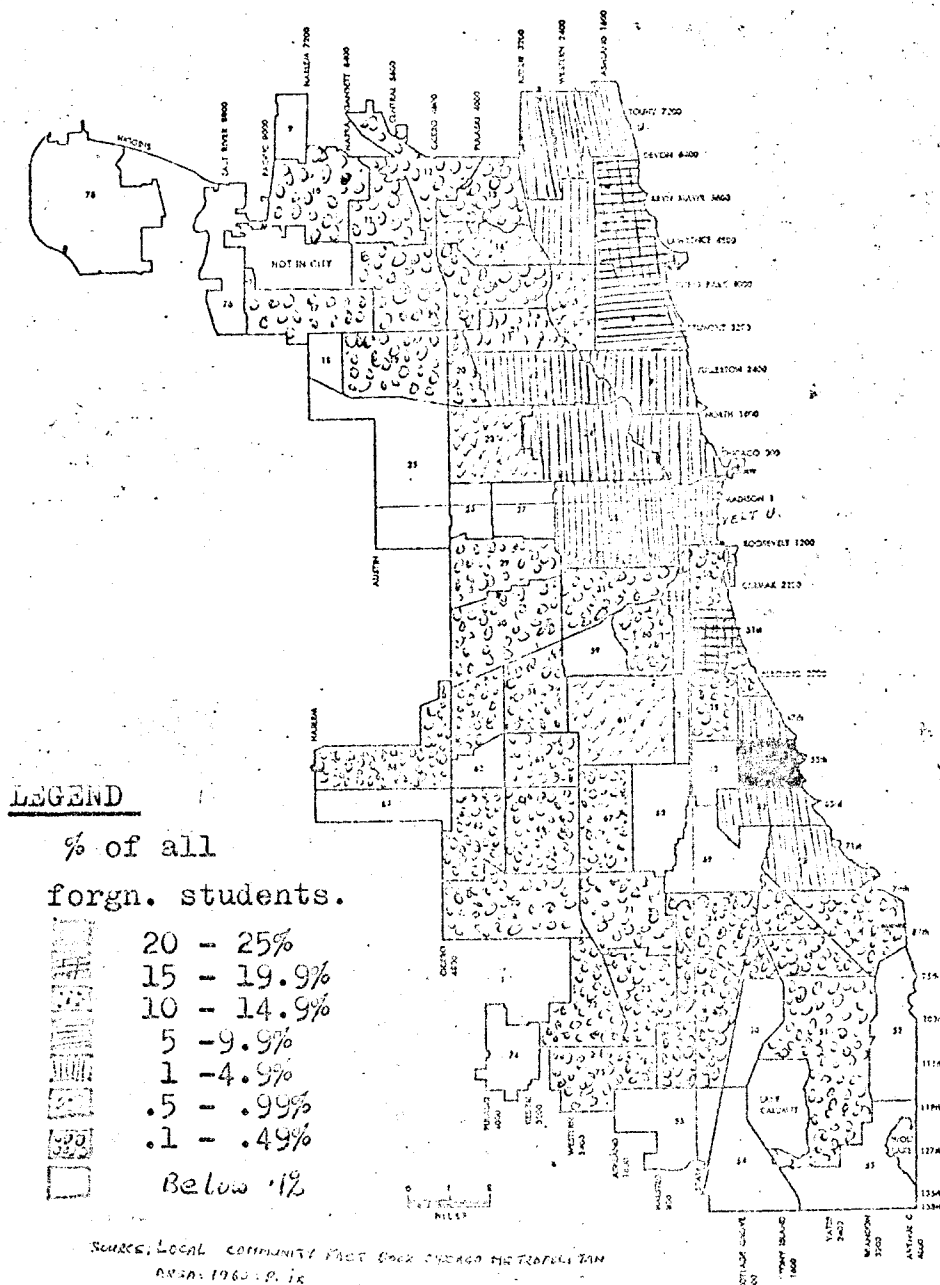
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Map 11: Distribution of Foreign Students

by Community Areas: City of Chicago .

(Spring 1972).



APPENDIX A

FOREIGN STUDENTS POPULATION AND THE CITY OF
CHICAGO POPULATION BY COMMUNITY AREAS: 1970

<u>CA#</u>	<u>City Population (1970)</u>	<u>Student Population (1970)</u>
1	60,770	101
2	65,429	20
3	136,430	315
4	47,747	28
5	39,395	10
6	114,905	134
7	67,793	61
8	70,250	48
9	13,241	--
10	41,826	3
11	27,553	2
12	20,531	2
13	16,732)
14	47,085	13
15	63,603	5
16	54,897	9
17	43,852	4
18	11,675	--
19	57,396	4
20	19,835	2
21	35,796	6
22	88,540	32
23	71,707	11
24	124,784	25
25	127,973	20
26	48,443	--
27	52,176	1
28	78,682	60
29	94,754	2
30	62,892	3
31	44,486	2
32	4,935	41
33	8,764	3
34	13,058	62
35	47,709	384
36	18,284	2
37	7,368	--
38	80,073	2
39	26,900	39
40	46,010	--
41	33,552	484
42	53,797	33
43	80,644	45
44	47,273	5
45	14,411	2

APPENDIX A CONTINUED

<u>CA#</u>	<u>City Population (1970)</u>	<u>Student Population (1970)</u>
46	45,646	5
47	3,180	2
48	20,123	2
49	62,501	2
50	10,877	1
51	19,270	3
52	24,648	--
53	40,318	--
54	15,015	--
55	11,346	--
56	42,984	3
57	14,823	2
58	356,140	2
59	15,632	1
60	35,161	9
61	60,805	10
62	14,059	--
63	26,698	3
64	24,482	--
65	18,594	1
66	84,835	5
67	61,904	3
68	89,694	2
69	54,393	--
70	47,157	1
71	68,847	5
72	26,770	2
73	36,540	1
74	23,186	--
75	31,011	2
76	6,327	--
<hr/>		<hr/>
TOTAL	3,369,359	2,091

APPENDIX B

FOREIGN STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE FIVE NAMED UNIVERSITIES
IN CHICAGO BY COMMUNITY AREAS: SPRING 1972

<u>C.A.</u>	<u>I.I.T.</u>	<u>Loyola U.</u>	<u>U. of Chicago</u>	<u>U. of Ill.</u>	<u>Roosevelt U.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	34	21	--	31	15	101
2	4	3	1	7	5	20
3	93	37	4	87	94	315
4	8	--	1	8	11	28
5	4	--	--	2	4	10
6	34	7	1	36	56	134
7	9	3	--	23	26	61
8	13	3	--	10	22	48
9	--	--	--	--	--	--
10	2	--	--	1	--	3
11	1	--	--	--	1	2
12	1	--	--	--	1	2
13	4	--	--	3	2	9
14	6	2	1	2	3	13
15	1	--	--	1	3	5
16	2	--	1	4	2	9
17	--	1	1	2	--	4
18	--	--	--	--	--	--
19	--	4	--	--	--	4
20	1	--	--	--	1	2
21	--	--	1	2	3	6
22	11	4	1	8	8	32
23	3	--	--	3	5	11
24	6	2	--	10	7	25
25	6	5	--	5	4	20
26	--	--	--	--	--	--
27	--	1	--	--	--	1
28	4	2	--	49	5	60
29	1	--	--	--	1	2
30	2	1	--	--	--	3
31	--	--	--	2	--	2
32	--	--	--	2	39	41
33	--	--	--	1	2	3
34	46	1	2	8	5	62
35	352	2	2	19	9	384
36	2	--	--	--	--	2
37	--	--	--	--	--	--
38	--	--	--	--	2	2
39	4	--	21	2	2	29
40	--	--	--	--	--	--
41	22	6	420	15	21	484
42	--	--	32	--	1	33
43	--	2	16	18	9	45
44	--	--	4	--	1	5
45	--	2	--	--	--	2
46	--	--	--	2	3	5

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

<u>C.A.</u>	<u>I.I.T.</u>	<u>Loyola U.</u>	<u>U. of Chicago</u>	<u>U. of Ill.</u>	<u>Roosevelt U.</u>	<u>Total</u>
47	--	1	--	1	--	2
48	--	--	1	--	1	2
49	1	--	--	1	--	2
50	--	--	--	1	--	1
51	1	--	--	1	1	3
52	--	--	--	--	--	--
53	--	--	--	--	--	--
55	--	--	--	--	--	--
56	--	--	--	2	1	4
57	1	--	--	1	--	2
58	1	--	--	1	--	2
59	--	--	--	1	--	1
60	7	1	--	1	--	9
61	1	1	--	2	6	10
62	--	--	--	--	--	--
63	1	--	1	1	--	3
64	--	--	--	--	--	--
65	1	--	--	--	--	1
66	1	--	--	2	2	5
67	2	--	--	--	1	3
68	1	--	--	--	1	2
69	--	--	--	--	--	--
70	--	--	--	--	1	1
71	--	1	1	3	--	5
72	2	--	--	--	--	2
73	--	--	--	1	--	1
74	--	--	--	--	--	--
75	--	--	1	1	--	2
76	--	--	--	--	--	--
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 696	<hr/> 113	<hr/> 509	<hr/> 387	<hr/> 386	<hr/> 2,091*

*This figure comprises only those with F. 1 visa; whose addresses are given and who reside within the city of Chicago.

APPENDIX C

TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF EUROPEAN, CHINESE, AFRICAN
AND INDIAN STUDENTS IN THE FIVE NAMED UNIVERSITIES: SPRING 1972

<u>Racial Groups</u>	<u>Institutions</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>I.I.T.</u>	<u>L.U.</u>	<u>U. of C.</u>	<u>U. of I.</u>	<u>Roosevelt U.</u>	
Europeans	32	15	102	36	20	205
Chinese	112	11	108	51	46	328
Africans	9	13	19	49	35	125
Indians	128	27	42	69	59	<u>325</u>
					TOTAL	983
					OTHER RACIAL GROUPS	<u>1,108</u>
						2,091

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Mr. Daniel S. Obikeze has been read and approved by members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

3/23/73

Date

William Bates

Signature of Advisor